1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

INTRODUCTION

Selection of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information. In the course of the last four centuries a great deal of valuable material on numerous phases of their culture has been written by soldiers, travelers, scholars, and missionaries, but this monograph provides the first ethnographic report ever compiled from data gathered in the field by a professional anthropologist.[1] It would be presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a single field trip, that one had made adequate coverage of the total range of Araucanian culture; hence a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the area covered, the native groupings, the limitations of time, and the problems and objectives presented in this study. |2|

First, the area will be considered. Approximately three hundred miles south of Santiago, from the Río Bío Bío, an eighty-mile wide stretch of territory extends about one hundred and fifty miles farther south. Most of this region is a valley contained between the Nahuelbuta coastal range on the west and the Andean mountains on the east. The area has long been known as the Frontera (Map 1) because it is beyond the system of forts erected by the Spaniards during the conquest of Chile. Commonly, this territory is called Araucanía, because it is the principal zone inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. At present native communities are scattered over much of the old Fron- |3|

[1] Compare the statement of this situation in Brand (1941*a*, p. 29), whose work provides the most complete bibliography of Araucanian studies that is readily available. The late Father Cooper's excellent summary of the existing literature (Cooper, 1946) will be frequently cited to indicate earlier treatments of topics covered in this monograph. It should be noted that in 1945 Sister M. Inez Hilger made a field study, principally centered on child-rearing practices, among several Araucanian groups. For a preliminary description of her findings, see Hilger, 1946. A full report is now in press.

For bibliographic references to works mentioned see Literature Cited.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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of Araucanian speakers, whose culture he described under the term Mapuche-Huilliche.[4] This is the group with which my report is concerned.

To turn next to limitations of time, it is an accepted fact that the Araucanians were first brought within the scope of Euro-American history in 1536, when some of them met the Spanish forces led by Diego de Almagro. Soon after this, the permanent occupation of Araucanian territory was begun by Pedro de Valdivia, who founded Santiago in 1541 and within the next twelve years established cities and forts as far south as Valdivia. Properly speaking, then, the known history of the Mapuche extends over a span of four hundred years. This study does not propose to cover such a lengthy period. A brief historical sketch will be provided in the succeeding chapter, but I shall deal for the most part with the culture of the Araucanians after they were pacified in 1884, and more particularly with the situation that has arisen since 1917, when the practice of allotting lands in severalty began.

As far as problems and objectives are concerned, circumstances did not permit an unrestricted coverage. Accordingly, a program was adopted that seemed best suited to fill some of the widest gaps in the existing knowledge concerning the Mapuche. Among the most serious lacunae are those in the fields of kinship and sociopolitical organization. The unsatisfactory nature of the published material on these topics is highlighted by the fact that so conscientious and thorough a student as Father Cooper was forced to treat kinship in terms of a unit which, he stated, has been variously designated as *kuga*, *cuga*, *cūga*, *cunga*, and *elpa*, the use of which went out of existence between one hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, no memory of which now survives, and which has been described or translated by no less than fourteen distinct Spanish or English terms.[5] Likewise, in dealing with sociopolitical culture,

[4] Further details regarding Chile's aboriginal population may be found in Latcham, 1924, pp. 258–74; Guevara, 1929, I: 191–259; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–99.

[5] Cooper, 1946, p. 722.

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MAP 1. The Frontera in Chile. The stippled area gives the approximate location of the region called the Frontera or Araucanía. (After Jefferson, 1921, Figs. 6 and 13.)

121 Father Cooper was led to write: "Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting . . . that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture."[6]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 724.

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121 The first objective, therefore, was to obtain information on kinship and sociopolitical structure, and because Cautinche gave promise of yielding reliable and concrete data, intensive field work was initiated at that small reservation of seventeen households, about each of whose inhabitants it was possible to obtain precise sociologic information. Comparative and supplementary studies were then made at Carrarrihe and Renaco.

Another factor that strongly influenced the direction of the investigation was the knowledge that the Araucanians were currently in a state of cultural transition, having only recently been pacified and settled on fixed reserves. This situation provided an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of cultural change, a topic with which I have become increasingly concerned in recent years. It likewise helps to explain why the neighborhood of Cholchol was so readily selected as a center of operations. All studies of cultural dynamics require a sort of base line in time and space from which variations can be determined, and it happens that Richard E. Latcham, one of the most diligent students of the Araucanians, had done much of his field work about half a century ago in the vicinity of Cholchol.[7]

In brief, this report is concerned with the recent and contemporary culture of the Araucanians who live just north of the Cautín River in south central Chile and has four major objectives: to report new information acquired in the field, particularly with respect to kinship and sociopolitical organization; to fit these aspects of Mapuche life into the total picture of their current culture; to augment existing data and to suggest fresh interpretations on the basis of first-hand observations; and to project the present situation against the tribe's former customs, with a view to gaining an insight into the dynamics of culture change.

104 Since many native and Spanish terms are included in the text, mainly for purposes of exact identification, it is necessary

[7] Latcham, 1924, p. 250. For a sketch of Latcham's life, and a complete bibliography of his works, see Lothrop, 1945.

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KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Knowledge of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 340–58; Guevara, 1909, I: 333–50; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

62/ 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *wekikeche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Chol-chol to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *lonko* of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarrihe. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarrihe as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarriñe had important links with Renaco. For that reason we decided to investigate Renaco on the completion of the study of Carrarrihe.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarrihe, and Renaco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

62/ 13/ The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

723 266 he had eaten the pervicax governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

723 727 534 Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

723 727 The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had [534] the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

177 ●121 The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (*Gay*, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 113.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 118, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which is so basic to cultural history; the other to divert study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In plowing the furrow it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[61] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the sixteenth:

> In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 recruits, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled there, even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the fairest portions of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia; the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their revered liberty.[62]

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61. One such problem is suggested by the census. In pre-Hispanic days the Araucanians were sedentary farmers of predominantly vegetarian habits. Frequent mention is made in the documents of a growing cattle economy, especially in Spanish dress and guise. Inasmuch as warfare disrupted agricultural planning in the valleys, the Araucanians gained their foods in impressible excess. It may be that lesser yields in the economies created a greater need for animal foodstuffs to supplement lowered agricultural production. See, for example, Jubito de Bazán to Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Nov. 15, 1583 (CHC, vol. 29, p. 498); Olivares, pp. 36-38; Menéndez, pp. 76-77; Núñez, p. 23. The implications suggested in a shift of basic economy are highly significant and require further investigation.

62. Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 29). His estimate seems to be far from the mark. In 1604 the enemy figures, as Lancharo reports them, were 20,000 Spaniards and 60,000 Indians allies ("La espantable guerra de los Araucanos," p. 58).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

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THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Pirenche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Pirenche were rapidly assimilated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most ambitious students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring kinship

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SC4 Araucanians SC4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943: 499-501).

In 1949 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Chol-chol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Chol-chol (1951: 2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the greater divisions mentioned above: Pinochet, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951: 198). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and inefficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Pinochet and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did want to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946: 724; Titiev 1951: 11 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951: 31), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febrés (1765), Rosa-

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made (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1903, 1910), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), and Montalbetti (1908). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the overriding theme of his book more easily understood.

Elsdon Smith (ibid. 6) is the "likelihood that fairly historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:31), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Coquimbo Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:36). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestizo offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:37).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them unwitting. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish social-practice influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his differentiation of kept (or ill-defined kinship ties), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on interpolations of linguistic elements and the erroneous notion of the precept that intestate and matrilineal differentiation are somehow inextricably bound together in the factual usage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722-23 for discussion of kept and circles of succession). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:37).

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The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been considerable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3-4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Araucano-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche reflects general expansion in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Bullock (1942), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ARAUCANIAN PARALLELS TO THE OMAHA KINSHIP PATTERN

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Introductory note: At the Poughkeepsie meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1929 I presented the following paper. I never published it, mainly because I obtained the information from a single informant and hoped that I might later substantiate and elaborate my original notes. Such an opportunity never arose. But during the subsequent years no one else, so far as I can discover has reported the occurrence of the Omaha kinship structure among the Araucanians.[1] However, now, when attention is being increasingly focused upon all things South American, it seems worth while to place my information on record. The immediate stimulus to publication came from Dr. Murdock who, in a discussion following a lecture he gave before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in December, 1942, remarked that in his survey of social organizations and kinship patterns throughout the world, he was struck by the absence of the Omaha pattern in South America, although he suspected its presence among the Araucanians. Its absence in South America seemed significant because of its presence in the other four major areas of the world from which he selected his sample. I hope that the publication of the following paper, even at this late date, may ultimately lead to a final settlement of the question.)

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In the current number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Dr. Lesser has brought a very important problem to a focus.[2] He demonstrates the fairly consistent association

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[1] See Donald D. Brand, *A Brief History of Araucanian Studies* (New Mexican Anthropologist, V, 1941), pp. 2, 19–32.

[2] A. Lesser, *Kinship Origins in the Light of some Distributions* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST), 31, 1929), pp. 710–730.

[p.489]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121 ●

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years.

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all native populations for many decades and upon many for several centuries, it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evident. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition,* and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all.

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrism. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

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here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

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to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-á-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

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quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

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If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
[648] economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[433] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[241] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[613] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
[121] able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*ewn, filiatun, machitun, kalkatun* (see below)—bind together

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Introduction

blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of their historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapuchetand.

The struggle between good and evil forces is enunciated and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is demonstrated during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcery-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *ankimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and silver-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ülkantufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The slowness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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000 (observance) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*Machi*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
797 the large, public *Nguillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
798 descent-class community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon, but a smaller family group may also hold a *Nguillatun*
320 (which I regard as a preservative practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a subdivision or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *Nguillatufe*. Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the dramatic personae of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless circulate a rather well-defined set of granular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

796 172 969

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 114 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is theoretically opposed to the position espoused, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political institutions as well as those based on

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Introduction

kinship and love association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the compulsive emotions that underlie all conduct (1956:9).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Coeyman, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear association that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, to priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good, shamanistic rites sometimes publicly for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional.

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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

• 121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

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671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned; [182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

• 121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes [671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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V

I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121.

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and unilineal arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural ambient. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, ordered as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural dress, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*awn*) and the fertility rite (*ñillatun*) are

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128 121 analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *caciquillo* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chilcanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marraige; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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121 and those sectors of Chilean society with which it comes into
128 contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the second area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
796 that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
184 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
794 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
796 been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
769 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
782 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore, [794 although there are structural and compositional differences inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_2, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

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764 12 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 754 776 764 789 To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*weza l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*. [165]

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

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256 [556] prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their *pillan* for the good of individuals and the community at large. [462] [769] The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

121 756 462 [114] *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 178 462 756 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

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Sir: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with *a priori* reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—interpreta-

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tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when confidentiated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly ordinless views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying world of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to us, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism

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The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honour, designations, prerogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an ancillary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural predilections of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related in the division of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960a).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960a).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of dominant system and the structural relations surrounding exchange. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

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that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive system . . ." (1958:73). The Mapuche have a system of strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in a most significant manner and that they therefore may be viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in which the dualism noted in the emotional construct of complementary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association of unconscious ideas and values with right and left hands which enables a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable outside the immediate ritual sphere.

The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships, that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves acts of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (rutā)	afterworld (wenumapu)
hai hai	*feu feu*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

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Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

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other things, notions, and processes are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distillation of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgment.

I am not committed to equilibrism, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variation of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the on-going reservation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilize or regularize social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships; and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular variety for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationship may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are amenable to quite different interpretation when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the nebulous past with an imperfect impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

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action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply reforecast, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their ramifying system of religious morality continues to shore up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect in

[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

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this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "commonsense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[2]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[2] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (108).

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178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
791 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
791 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
7997 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the
Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *füllatun* or *ɔwn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

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178 183 78 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 178 183 78 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society. But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 184 178 793 756 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the [885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsibility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in 771 184 178 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown. Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-